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AMERICAN SOCIALIST

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Why Should You Care?

By ADOLPH GERMER.

WHY SHOULD you care when Congress spends hundreds of millions of dollars for army and navy purposes while millions of human beings are hungry, crying for bread? Is it any of your business when Congress spends its time considering the best way to build up a murder machine and has little or no time for the people's immediate needs?

What right have you to protest when food prices shoot up another notch and another and make it harder for you to get the barest needs of life? Isn't the whole scheme of the system of private ownership based upon profits—"get all you can and give as little as possible in return"? Isn't the success of a person nowadays measured by how much he can gouge the people?

Morgan Richer Than "John D."

As a result of the European war, J. P. Morgan is reputed to be richer than John D. Rockefeller. Do you wonder, then, that Morgan and that crowd want war and more of it? But, in case of war, Morgan will not enter the trenches and "bleed and die" to "uphold the honor" of the country. The fighting will have to be done by the workers while Morgan and his crowd will do the gouging.

You read about the hundreds of thousands of women gathering in Philadelphia and in City Hall Square, New York, demanding bread. Where were Morgan, Schwab, Roosevelt, Gen. Leonard Wood, Patton, Wetzel and other war lords and food speculators? What did they do to relieve that serious situation? They had no time for the starving multitude—they were too engrossed in gouging the nation.

According to them and their kept press, we should go to war to "protect American rights, American honor and the flag." To them "American rights" and "American honor" consist of their investments. Their "flag" is the dollar and they'll follow it all over the world. When they get snagged, our "patriotism" is appealed to and we are called upon to shoulder a gun and "fight for the country". Doesn't it seem reasonable to you to ask Morgan and Schwab, when they will not go on the firing line? If they refuse to defend their investments, I refuse to do it for them. And if you will take the same attitude, there will be no war.

What War Means To You.

Have you ever thought what war means to you? Did it ever occur to you that wars are fought by the flower of the manhood of the respective nations? Did you ever stop to think that war robs society of the men in the bloom of life? Isn't it perfectly clear to you that those who can render society the greatest good are sent to the human slaughter house to be killed or crippled? Can't you see that the armies and navies consume and destroy what others produce and build up? A battle ship is built that costs fifteen million dollars or more. Then a torpedo or a submarine is sent out to blow up those millions. Fortifications are built that cost millions and a few shells from a modern Howitzer will tear them to pieces. Worst of all, the best of our brawn and muscle is torn to pieces by shot and shell. And yet we are asked to go to war.

"But", you will say, "we must defend the country, we cannot see our rights trampled under foot". My dear reader, those who would inspire you with such thoughts are trampling your rights under foot every day. When they send the prices of food stuffs up they trample on your right to exist. When the prices of flour, potatoes, meat, etc., go up it means that your wages will buy less of the things you and your family needs. To increase the price of the things you need is another way of reducing your wages. The women who gathered in New York and Philadelphia and demanded bread were met by the police. Some of them were beaten up and thrown into jail. Let me give you some Philadelphia prices, so you will see what the women protested against:

	Year ago	Today
Sugar (lb.)	.06 1/2	.09
Eggs (doz.)	.35	.50
Butter (lb.)	.40	.50
Lard (lb.)	.20	.25
Flour (bbl.)	6.00	12.50
Potatoes (bu.)	1.25	3.50
Cabbage (lb.)	.05	.18
Rump Steak (lb.)	.22	.30
Sirloin (lb.)	.25	.35
	\$8.78	\$18.17

You will see from the above that the same quantity of goods that one year ago cost \$8.78 now costs \$18.17. Have your wages increased accordingly? If not, isn't it a fact, then, that you and your family are obliged to get along with less of those necessities?

Do you think the situation will be relieved in case this country should go to war? Don't you think that it will be even worse and that famine will stalk all over the land? How? you will ask. Well, more of our able-bodied men will be taken out of the industries and the fields and thrown into the army and navy. There they will not produce, but instead, will consume and destroy.

The patriots for profits have monopolized the food supply and gouged the people to the very limit. They will continue to do it so long as

(Continued in last column.)

The Bible does not say, Thou shalt not commit murder, but, Thou shalt not kill. Let the shouters for war note this fact.

Private ownership of railroads has broken down. They have proved themselves inadequate to handle the nation's commerce.

More than half a billion for the navy. A big war loan in prospect. The blood-thirsty editors have had their way, after all.

Let there be a universal draft of capital before a single worker be called to risk his life where he has not a thing to gain if he wins.

No nation can exist half despotic and half democratic. We can not expect to have despots in industry and democracy in politics at the same time.

Had America elected a Socialist administration, there would be no war and no panic, because America would have possession of her credit and could do things.

Mr. Wilson evidently believes the contributors to his campaign funds do not want either the people or congress to have a voice in plunging the nation into war, but one man alone.

Society which does not hesitate to demand the individual's life for the defense of the whole, should not hesitate to demand the individual's property for the good of the whole.

All great reforms in society have come from below, not from above. They were forced by the people from the men who were in power. They were hardly ever conferred upon the people by those in power.

The trouble with reformers is that they are appealing to the rich and the powerful to change conditions for the poor, whereas they should appeal to the poor to change conditions for themselves.

The capitalists own the means of wealth production because, as one capitalist expressed it—they were smart enough to get them.

It is now up to the people to be smart enough to get them back again.

The Socialists realize the limitations of human nature. Realizing these limitations they consider it a waste of time to appeal to the capitalist class to give justice to the workers. They prefer to tell the workers to bring justice for themselves from the capitalist class.

Some become Socialists of their own accord;

Some are made Socialists by the hard work of others;

And some are kicked into the Socialist party.

But they get there just the same!

Had the President really prosecuted the paper makers two years ago, as Socialists said he should have done, instead of first permitting them to commit crime and then merely threatening them, the lives of more than 800 newspapers of America might have been preserved.

Did you notice that little dispatch telling how 300,000 boy scouts were to be ordered into service in case of war? Oh, you damned hypocrite and fool, who pretended that the boy scouts were not a military organization, how will you get that blood off your hands?

"You take my life when you take the means whereby I live!" wailed Shylock in the Merchant of Venice.

"You own my life when you own the means whereby I live!" cries the enlightened workman.

They who control our living control our lives.

As long as one man, or any set of men, confiscate any part of the product of other men's labor, slavery lives.

Wealth can not be produced by magic, by hocus-pocus, or by ledger-ment of any kind. It is produced by labor, and by labor only.

The United States already operates the telegraph in Alaska, and does it very successfully. The law provides that the telegraph in Alaska be operated at cost. When a couple of years ago a surplus accumulated, the government cut the rate in half. As a result the people send more telegrams and another surplus is accumulating. The government now contemplates cutting the rate in half again.

The Socialists would establish a society in which no person would draw from society more than the equivalent of the labor he gives to society, as far as that can be ascertained.

This is in contradistinction to the present system under which an individual draws from society all he can get, with such legal restrictions as society imposes—which legal restrictions, however, can be easily evaded by the great and powerful.

It has been so at all times and in all ages, that the men who controlled the lives of the people of a nation controlled the politics of that nation. Not until the people decide that they themselves are going to own and operate the industries, will the people be able to control the courts and the administrative and legislative bodies.

We can not be industrial slaves and political freemen!

Contented?—No, we of the Socialist Party are not contented! Nor will we allow any workman or woman to remain contented.

Even tho they wish to be left alone we will not leave them alone.

We will shake them into wakefulness until they, too, see the horrors that afflict humanity; until they, too, catch a glimpse of the vision of the new society, and help us to realize its promise.

Protest!

EMPHATIC protest against the abolition of freedom of speech and press as attempted in the so-called "Spy Bill" now before congress, is voiced in a telegram rushed to President Wilson and 20 members of congress by the Socialist Party National Emergency Committee consisting of Victor L. Berger, John M. Work and Adolph Germer. This telegram reads as follows:

"In the name of the Socialists of the United States we earnestly protest against that portion of the Spy Bill which abolishes freedom of speech and freedom of press. It is an unwarranted and insane attack, caused by the prevailing war madness, upon the liberties which have been achieved thru long years of struggle. We urge you to do everything in your power to prevent that provision from becoming law".

While the outrageous press censorship bill recently exposed in The American Socialist has been held back by the war department, the department of justice has pushed thru the senate the "Spy Bill", almost equally menacing to free discussion and control of military affairs in time of peace as well as war.

This "Spy Bill" is a consolidation of 14 different bills drafted by the Department of Justice and merged by the Senate Judiciary Committee. This bill, aimed theoretically at the foreign spies and propagandists like those who were so active in the United States at the outbreak of the war, is so loosely and sweepingly drawn that it involves in its language, if not in its intent, not only the Socialist Party and every trade union but every radical pacifist organization, every "stop the war" group, every one who, in time of war, might fight conscription, or attempt to expose corruption in army or navy contracts or criticize the management of the war. In short, while attempting to protect military secrets and the integrity of the conduct of the war, it threatens to paralyze all real democratic investigation, discussion and control of national defense.

The bill was reported out of the Senate Judiciary Committee and passed the Senate. During the three days debate on the bill every amendment offered by Senators Cummins, Lee, Works and LaFollette which tended to limit and define its reckless provisions was defeated. Yet the scope of the bill calls for the most careful discrimination if the liberties of American people are not to be seriously curtailed.

As it stands, the bill makes it a crime for anybody to seek information with regard to the state of national defense, even in time of peace. To pass such information on becomes a crime. Promptly at the outbreak of war, the military authorities are placed beyond the reach of criticism by a clause which penalizes by life imprisonment "whoever, in time of war, shall, by any means or in any manner, spread or make reports or statements, or convey any information, with intent to cause dissatisfaction in or to interfere with the operations, or success, of the military or naval forces of the United States."

A statute as sweeping as this would have outlawed the activities of the Anti-Imperialist League during the Spanish War. It could have been used summarily against the newspapers which exposed the "embalmed beef" scandals. It would certainly penalize those who supported "conscientious objectors". It would be used as a net to gather in those who fought conscription in time of war, or who agitated against the management of the war by the military authorities. Anything, in short, which might be construed as causing disaffection in the army or navy or as hampering the military authorities, may be punished by life imprisonment—and by a fine of \$10,000.

As the administration has asked that some bill guarding against "espionage" and "acts of interference with the foreign relations" of the United States shall be passed before adjournment, action on this will be hurried thru. In all probability the President has not the faintest idea of the rash language of the bill. Many constitutional lawyers in the Senate think that the Department of Justice has all the power it really needs in legislation now on the books and that the present bill is not only highly dangerous but that its more dangerous sections are not needed at all!

However, the most that can be done is to make sure that it is so modified in its language as to safeguard freedom of speech and press and, above all, democratic control, even in time of war, of the military forces.

Write or wire to the President. Write or wire to your congressman if you think it will do any good. Don't accept reassurances from the metropolitan newspapers about this bill; there is nothing they would like better than to see the Socialist Party and its press silenced and impotent.

(TELEGRAM)

San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 24, 1917.

The American Socialist,
803 West Madison Street, Chicago.

Tom Mooney sentenced to hang May 17. Notice of appeal was given. Socialist Party must act with labor unions at once. Verdict absolutely contrary to evidence. Every indication of a frame-up conspiracy to destroy organized labor behind Mooney prosecution.

J. E. Snyder.

The matter is being taken up with the National Executive Committee by Adolph Germer, national secretary, Socialist Party.

A Modern Paradox

By WILLIS ANDREWS.

Verily, the path of Socialists is not one strewn with roses. First, they were berated and held up to public scorn for their failure to preserve peace in Europe, altho many of them are now languishing in prison cells for refusing to heed the call of the lust for blood. And now they are being excommunicated and scoffed at for trying to maintain peace in America.

Socialists adhere to the principles of universal peace and the brotherhood of man—cardinal doctrines of the Nazarene. But, paradoxical as it may seem, the very people who seek to dislodge Socialists with the cry of "infidel" are none other than those who profess belief in the Prince of Peace, who are now loudest and most vehement in the clamor for war.

Karl Kautsky, one of Germany's ablest Socialists, has written to a Swiss paper declaring his opposition to the submarine policy and declaring his doubts whether any greater advantages to the military party would accrue than if the new campaign had not been undertaken.

And, after all, the Prince of Peace was a pacifist.

Let congress adjourn and the President keep his foot out of it, and all will go well yet.

The commission selected to investigate the leak has closed it up with daubs of whitewash.

Have you written to your congressman, protesting against universal military training? Why not?

Capitalism is corrupting the socialized schools by compelling the pupils to train for murder in its behalf.

Capitalism is corrupting the socialized roads by turning them into military roads to foster its fight for loot.

Capitalism is corrupting the socialized waters by filling them with wrecks, to spoil the trade of rivals.

We must either kill capitalism, or capitalism will kill the human race, leaving only robbers, murderers and slaves.

Mr. Wilson seems to be having a great deal of trouble with the watermelon he is trying to carry under either arm.

Had the Socialist suggestion of an embargo on food products been acted on two years ago, there would have been no danger of war now.

You condemn the ancient Jews for choosing the thief Barabbas rather than Jesus. Yet you chose Capitalism the thief rather than Socialism.

Senator Stone is right in one regard. There are a lot of editors who are seeking to force America into war.

Mr. Wilson was able to bring the paper makers to time by threatening prosecution. If he does not prosecute he becomes a party to the crime he says they committed.

The congressmen and cabinet members who profited from the leak are as guilty as ever; they were merely found not guilty by a commission selected to do it.

Had the Socialist suggestion of an embargo on munitions been acted on two years ago, Americans would have been a billion dollars better off in what they would have saved on food prices.

Everybody knows the why of the high cost of living; but congress has appropriated a quarter of a million dollars to enable a few congressmen to have a good time while finding an excuse for it that will free the criminals who held the country up.

The railroads of the country are reported to be behind in their equipment fully two billion dollars. The looters have merely pocketed the spoils they took from the people and let the roads go to pot.

Wuxtra, wuxtra! It is reported that 100,000 of the Wall street patriots have enlisted for the war, while congress has resigned in a body in order to show its loyalty to the flag by enlisting as privates in the army. By the time these are killed, there are 100,000 war shouting editors who will fill up the ranks. Thus the workers, having no country of their own, will not be required to fight for the glory of England.

The senators and the masses of the people are not. The blame is not with the gamblers who gouge us—the fault lies with the masses who refuse to organize and use their united strength in the economic organization and political organization to take over the industries and operate them in the interest of all. Don't ask me how we are going to take them over. The first duty is to organize into the Labor Unions and into the Socialist Party.

When you have helped to convince a sufficient number of people that the industries should be common property and we are determined to have them, the way will then be determined. Surely you should trust yourself to the extent that you would be willing to help decide the method by which the railroads, factories, mills, mines, etc., shall become the property of the people, to be operated for the people.

We

Two Speeches By London On Peace And Armaments

HERE ARE the two speeches recently delivered in the house of representatives by the lone Socialist congressman, Meyer London, as they appeared in the Congressional Record. The first speech was on the President's peace message and the second in opposition to the huge appropriations planned for the army and navy and other military purposes. The speeches were as follows:

Saturday, January 27, 1917.
The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 20573) making appropriations for fortifications and other works of defense, for the armament thereof, for the procurement of heavy ordnance for trial and service, and for other purposes.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say a few words. A great deal has been said about the message of the President to the Senate relating to the European situation. The President is an artist of the written and spoken word. There is so much in his message that many a man will find more than one meaning in it. We must, however, first of all look upon that message as one of the steps in the peace negotiations; and when we look upon the message as a step in that direction the whole world is bound to applaud the President for having taken that step. There is another thing in that message which is to be commended by all, and that is that a serious attempt is made to introduce a moral principle into international law.

The difficulty with international law is that it concerns itself only with the rules of the game of war. It does not lay down principles that justify war under certain circumstances and condemn it under others.

For instance, the general opinion of the world has condemned the invasion of Belgium and the attack upon Serbia, but there is no principle in the textbooks on international law which would condemn any big nation for invading the territory of a small nation. As a matter of fact, all of the great European nations have been busy in invading the territories of small and helpless nations. As a matter of fact, the United States of America is to-day in possession of the Philippines Islands and Porto Rico, and our Navy is now at Santo Domingo trying to establish a stable form of Government. The establishment of a stable form of government for a small nation by a big one is usually followed by the swallowing of the little nation by the big one. It would have been a fine thing if, following the message of the President of the United States to the Senate proclaiming to the world a new moral principle of international ethics, there had been a withdrawal of the Navy from Santo Domingo, just as the President has decided to withdraw the Army from Mexico. Of course by withdrawing the Army from Mexico he has invited the criticism of some people who think that in addition to having expended more than \$100,000,000 in Mexico we should have done some killing and grabbed some Mexican territory.

While the President attempts to introduce this new principle of international ethics, there is one thing in his proposition which is dangerous, and that is the proposition that was indorsed by the able gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Gillett) who spoke a little while ago. There is nothing more dangerous than the entry of the United States into an international alliance if membership in the alliance would involve the use of the armed forces of the United States in the joint enterprises of the alliance. I certainly favor a league of nations, but my contention is that as long as each member of the international league maintains an army and navy, and as long as the nations of the world have the power to loose these forces, just so long will there be no opportunity for permanent international peace. It is the possession of armies by nations which have conflicting interests that is bound to lead to war.

Mr. GILLETT. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. LONDON. I will.

Mr. GILLETT. Does the gentleman think there is any possibility of doing away with armament except by some concert of nations?

Mr. LONDON. Exactly so.

Mr. GILLETT. So is not this a first step toward that?

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Income is derived either from property or from service, and in order that there may be income from property somebody must be rendering service, so that it is the man who renders service that pays the burden of taxation. The man who works for a living is seldom rich. If the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Emerson) is right in his statement that he is opposed to the proposed tax because the Republicans will have to pay it, then according to my theory very few Republicans work for a living.

(Laughter.)

I know that my voice is like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. I am not an obstructionist, and I would cheerfully aid the party in power, responsible for the conduct of the Government in this Congress, to carry thru necessary revenue legislation. But when I read the title of the bill, "A bill to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses for the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extension of fortifications," I can not get myself to vote for it.

Mr. LONDON. The first step which must be taken in the direction of international peace is to lay down a principle which is to guide nations in their relations toward the smaller and helpless nationalities. Then it will be necessary to provide means of enforcing this principle. An agreement to use the armed forces of nations in order to secure obedience to this fundamental principle is bound to lead to new alliances, to new combinations, which is after all new combinations of armies and navies, and therefore dangerous. I suggested in the resolution which I introduced on the 6th of December, 1915, that the commercial boycott be used as a means to punish the recalcitrant or offending nations. If the United States should now join an international league, it would simply mean that there will be one more member of the entente, for surely there is no possibility of the United States ever joining the other side. If I had a little more time, 5 or 10 minutes, the may not desire to use it, I would feel little freer.

Mr. SHERLEY. I will yield the gentleman three more minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has two minutes remaining and the gentleman is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. LONDON. We are dealing with a big proposition. What has been the bone of contention among the nations of the world, if not the desire of powerful nations to aggrandize themselves at the expense of small nations, or of nations occupying large territories but industrially undeveloped, and therefore offering an easy prey.

Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, the Balkans, Persia, China tell the same story and have the same grievance against the so-called civilized nations.

Now, if we lay down the principle that no big nation should be permitted to attack the rights of any little nationality, you have eliminated the principal cause of modern war. What should we adopt as the next principle? The reduction of armaments, and you have international peace very near to realization. I can not agree with the man who believes international peace is impossible. I can not agree with the man who looks upon every effort in the direction of a brotherhood of nations as the effort of dreamers. On the contrary, just as true as civilization has consolidated small nationalities into big nations, just as true as the thirteen little Colonies found it necessary to unite into one great Republic, extending its influence over a continent, just as surely can a foundation be laid for a universal concert of nations. Let us understand that the principal cause of modern war is the clash and conflict of economic interests, and we will find a way of making war impossible. In nine cases out of ten what is supposed to be a question of national honor is but a question of national interests. When it is a question of national interests let the democracies of the world decide whether the national interests involved are serious enough to justify the country in entering into war. (Applause.) That is the long and short of it. That is why I welcome the President's message as a step in the direction of peace, as a step in the enunciation of a great moral law for the guidance of the nations of the world, as an invitation to the democracies of the world to study the causes of war and to take up these great questions of international relations. There can be no safety until they have been democratized. (Applause.)

Mr. AUSTIN. What about the President's proposition about the United States entering into combination with other nations by armament and arms to enforce peace?

Mr. LONDON. The gentleman came in after I had started. I opposed that suggestion. The President's message is welcome, because it attracts the attention of the world to the fundamental principle of international peace.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Wednesday, January 31, 1917.

The house in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 20573) to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extension of fortifications, and for other purposes.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, in 10 minutes, speaking on a subject of this magnitude, one can give expression to a sense of pain only. All taxes, whether they are called income taxes or whether they are taxes paid in the form of a tariff, are paid by the men and women who work. No matter who sends the check for the tax to the tax collector, the taxes are paid by the people who contribute useful service. Therefore all this talk of the Republicans to the effect that if a high protective tariff were imposed the people would not be taxed is logically as indefensible as the argument of the Democrats that they are hidebound by machine rules. You have to vote as your leaders tell you to vote, and you subordinate your reason, you eliminate your independence, you do away with your own thinking. The President was frightened by the impetus that was given to the preparedness campaign, and he in turn frightened the Democrats, and they yielded against their own judgment and their own sentiments. Gentlemen, I ask you to call a halt to this preparedness campaign. I call upon you to devote the remaining days of this session of Congress to the problem of the high cost of living; I call upon you to legislate for the people instead of legislating to create an aristocracy of munition interests.

Watch The Navy! It Can Plunge Nation Into War

By LUCIEN SAINT.

WASHINGTON.—"If the United States Navy can bring war about, it will do so."

Rear Admiral S., I might add, is no pacifist. He is a real Naval officer, one of the best ever in the service. But now that he is out of the service, now that he is old enough to look at the service in perspective, he can tell the truth.

Watch the Navy. Don't let the Navy stampede you or the men you know. It is up to the people of the United States, by every means in their power, to be the men behind the machines, to refuse to allow the explosion of a ship or a gun or a boiler or a squadron to hurl the whole country into a war.

And the people can do this if they will keep a strong hold upon their Congressmen and their Senators and direct them not to let the President declare war until and unless they, the people, shall so decree.

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solution of all ills, is not a sound argument.

Mr. GARLAND. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONDON. Yes.

Mr. GARLAND. Have you not heard the Democrats say that a lowering of the tariff would reduce the cost of living? (Laughter on the Republican side.)

Mr. LONDON. Oh, neither the Republicans nor the Democrats know how to tackle these problems. (Laughter.) The high cost of living will not be reduced as long as a majority of the people have it within their power to tax the great masses by owning the means of production and transportation. As long as a minority of the people control the means of production and distribution they will charge such prices as they can get. They who own and control the means necessary to keep people alive own and control the lives of the people.

Now, I am opposed to this bill because every man, woman, and child will be taxed \$10 a year to pay for preparedness which there is no earthly use for. The people ask for bread and shoes and clothing and shelter, and you give them cannon, fortifications, and artillery. As I predicted on the 18th of January, 1915, the Democrats have fallen into the trap which the Republicans prepared for them. Some Democrats say they are opposed to the preparedness expenditures because they are reckless, unreasonable, and criminal, but that they are compelled to vote for a measure to raise the revenue so long as a preparedness program of huge dimensions has been adopted. Why should you act as accomplices to crime?

If the preparedness agitation is criminal and reckless and exorbitant and imposes burdens upon the people which the people should not be called upon to bear, why do you vote for these appropriation bills? How can you vote to raise revenue for a thing that you are opposed to?

Then there is one more danger, one more menace, that I want to warn you against. For years the protectionist interests have ruled the country. They were powerful; they were giants financially and industrially. Now you are facing a new menace, a new danger, a new aristocracy of cash, a new power of finance. One billion dollars will be poured out of the pockets of the people of the United States and out of Uncle Sam's Treasury into the pockets of the war traffickers. They will be supplied with a billion dollars, which will be used to corrupt, to defile, to dictate the editorial of your newspapers, to make and unmake men, and to shape public opinion. A new aristocracy, a new power, a new danger is being created by this \$1,000,000,000 appropriation out of the pockets of the people. If you were serious, if you were earnest about the interests of the people, the problem of the high cost of living should occupy your attention now. Stop fortifying. You are not in immediate danger. No German professor has invented a powder which will dry up the Atlantic so that the Kaiser may march an army upon Boston and New York. Up to 1898 you had only 24,000 soldiers. You had more police officers than soldiers. You were not invaded by anybody; you were not menaced by anybody. You were not in any danger. What is this all about? You Democrats know that there is no reason behind the cry for preparedness except the artificial cry stimulated by munition interests, as a great many Republicans know. But the trouble with both of you is that you are hidebound by machine rules. You have to vote as your leaders tell you to vote, and you subordinate your reason, you eliminate your independence, you do away with your own thinking.

The Navy wants something like this to happen because such an event might lead to war. Back of the Navy the steel makers want such a thing to happen, because the steel makers will profit gloriously from war. Back of the steel makers the bankers—some of them—want this to happen, because war brings out money to be spent for preparation, and whenever money is handled, that means profits to the bankers. Back of them all, back of war, lies greed and profits and exploitation.

But in the forefront is the Navy, picturesque, efficient, dominant, appealing to the imagination. The Navy is our first line of defense. It must bear the brunt. Without it we could easily penetrate our harbors and land on our shores. But—

The Navy is also our first line of ATTACK. It must bear the brunt. Without it we cannot easily penetrate the harbors of our enemies—wherever they may be—and land on their shores.

Recall the Carrizal incident in Mexico last summer. Captain Boyd and a troop of negro soldiers were sent on a mission. Their way lead thru a town. Their general orders had been to avoid towns, to go around them. They were met by Mexicans with a white flag who told them not to go thru the town. "We formed for attack," the dying Boyd wrote in his note-book. And that tells the whole story. The Army wanted war with Mexico. Boyd, representing the spirit of the Army, formed for attack when there was no danger of attack. He attacked and was overwhelmed by the impetus that was given to the preparedness campaign, and he in turn frightened the Democrats, and they yielded against their own judgment and their own sentiments.

Gentlemen, I ask you to call a halt to this preparedness campaign. I call upon you to devote the remaining days of this session of Congress to the problem of the high cost of living; I call upon you to legislate for the people instead of legislating to create an aristocracy of munition interests.

Wednesday, January 31, 1917.

The house in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 20573) to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extension of fortifications, and for other purposes.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, in 10 minutes, speaking on a subject of this magnitude, one can give expression to a sense of pain only. All taxes, whether they are called income taxes or whether they are taxes paid in the form of a tariff, are paid by the men and women who work.

No matter who sends the check for the tax to the tax collector, the taxes are paid by the people who contribute useful service.

Therefore all this talk of the Republicans to the effect that if a high protective tariff were imposed the people would not be taxed is logically as indefensible as the argument of the Democrats that they are hidebound by machine rules.

You have to vote as your leaders tell you to vote, and you subordinate your reason, you eliminate your independence, you do away with your own thinking.

The President was frightened by the impetus that was given to the preparedness campaign, and he in turn frightened the Democrats, and they yielded against their own judgment and their own sentiments.

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What Is It?

By VICTOR L. BERGER.
SOCIALISM stands for a new civilization.

Of course, with people who believe that whatever is will exist forever, and that we have reached the acme of civilization, it is entirely useless to argue.

But surely no educated man believes that the present conditions are the end of all things.

That we have not reached the end of our national development is clear. Every new invention and every new political question proves that to us.

Determined opponents of the present system of industry as the Socialists are, still they never think of calling the concentration of capital the cause of all evil.

Socialists do not try to smash the trusts as such. On the contrary, Socialism appreciates so fully the advantages of industrial production on a large scale that we wish its most perfect development, which is impossible under the capitalist system.

The control of production by the people as a whole means the highest possible perfection of industry on a large scale.

We Feel It.

And we all deeply feel the disadvantages of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution on a large scale.

We observe how the railroads, street car companies, and other public service corporations corrupt our city councils and legislatures. We notice how our life insurance savings are simply furnishing funds for high financiers. We witness how the largest factory owners combine into trusts which are "financed" by banks, and how the meat trust, the oil trust, the steel trust, and all the other trusts are "regulating prices," and how, moreover, some of these trusts are ruining the health of the people.

We all see it. We all feel it. And we all know it.

They decide how much we shall pay for our coffee and our bread, how much for our kerosene and our coal, and how much we are to spend for our houses, clothing, etc.

In other words, they decide how well or how poorly we are to live. They say the "say" as to how long or how short a time we are permitted to live.

Not The Only Sufferers.

The wage-workers are by no means the only sufferers. The small employers, the small merchants, are also feeling the sting of an unequal competition. For every one of these men of business lives at war with all his brethren. The hand of the one is against the other, and no foe is more terrible to him than the one who is running a neck to neck race with him every day.

Therefore, in the factory as well as in the store the profits must be ever enlarged. The latest improvements, the best labor-saving machinery must be used and as little wages must be paid as possible. The race is for life or death and "the Devil gets the hindmost."

The fierce competition lessens the profit on each article, and this must be compensated for by a greater number of articles being produced and sold, that is, the cheaper the goods the more capital is required to carry on the business.

Precisely, then, for the same reason that the mechanic with his own shop and working on his own account has nearly disappeared in the struggle between hand work and machine work—for precisely the same reason the small manufacturer, with their little machinery, their small capital and their little stock of goods, are now being driven from the field.

One-tenth of our population already owns nine-tenths of the wealth. The centralization of the control of property is increasing with a rapidity that threatens the integrity of the nation. The average of wages, the certainty of employment, the social privileges and independence of the wage-earning population, when compared with the increase of the wealth and social production, are steadily and rapidly decreasing.

With every increase of power and concentration of wealth the educated and professional class is forced more and more into dependence upon the capitalist. Our teachers, professors, speakers, newspaper editors, and writers, and all professional men, are more and more at the mercy of the capitalistic system, and brought into abject dependence.

The Socialist Party is distinctly evolutionary and constructive in its method.

Reforms Welcomed.

Social reforms of all kinds are welcomed by the Socialists for many reasons.

In the first place, by reforms we can stop the increasing pauperism, and consequently also the enervation of the masses of the people. If real reforms are seriously taken up and carried out with determination, they may even lift the masses to a considerable extent.

But the main reason for our favoring them is because such reforms, if logically carried out, offer the possibility of a peaceful, lawful and orderly transformation of society.

Socialism Is Constructive.

The Socialist Party is the only true reform party in existence. We agitate for the organization of the masses. And organization everywhere means order. We educate, we enlighten, we reason, we discipline. And, therefore, besides order, we bring also law, reason, discipline and progress.

We Want To Save Civilization.

Socialism wants to maintain our culture and civilization, and bring it to a higher level.

Our party wants to guard this nation from destruction.

We appeal to the best in every man, to the public spirit of the citizen, to his love of wife and children.

Vote the Socialist ticket.

Henry Dubb Finds Out How Little Instead Of How Much He Can Live On

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

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